

Reds May Try to Sell Arms In Americas, CIA Chief Says

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PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 19 — A clear and concise account of how the Central Intelligence Agency functions to further our national security was given here recently to the International Association of Chiefs of Police by CIA Director Allen W. Dulles.
The CIA's job, he said, is to see that the President or other

policy maker in the Government has the vital information he needs to make decisions.
Mr. Dulles said that he met weekly with representatives of the Army, Navy and Air Force intelligence units, the State Department intelligence, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the FBI and the Atomic Energy Commission. Together, he said, they prepare estimates of available intelligence critical foreign conditions.

Selling Military Equipment

Mr. Dulles discussed the problems which the international Communist conspiracy presents because of its scope and secrecy. He points out that the CIA must be prepared to estimate not only the strength of a possible foe but what his intentions are, as well.

He said the Communists now are trying to stir up trouble by selling obsolete military equipment to world trouble spots. Communist China and Indo-China got a lot of these weapons, he said, "with results which are now clearly seen."

He took note of the current offer of Czech arms to Egypt, which has stirred fears of an arms race between Israel and the Arab nations. He added: "I should not be at all surprised if we soon heard that countries in this hemisphere were being approached."

To Safeguard Regime

Mr. Dulles told the police chiefs:

"If I were asked to point out the most obvious difference between the free world and the Communist-dominated areas it would be this. The free world provides for law enforcement that protects the right and liberties of the individual. Here the police authority represents the very essence of democracy in action.

"Law enforcement in the Communist world looks first and foremost to safeguarding the ruling regime without regard for individual rights. There the police authority becomes the shield of entrenched autocratic authority.

"It is fortunate that over the years steady progress has been made in improving our techniques of law enforcement and in building up co-operation between the various jurisdictions of police authorities on both a national and international scale.

Plenty of Problems

"For since 1917 and increasingly during the past decade the problem of maintaining domestic law and order has had to face a new and unprecedented danger—worldwide Communist activity.

"What we often refer to as organized crime on the domestic front certainly presents you with plenty of problems. But there is a sharp difference between the resources and capabilities of the private criminal, whether acting singly or in organized groups, and the international conspiracy of communism, with its headquarters in Moscow, an affiliated organization in Peking, and branch offices in Warsaw, Prague and many other centers.

"Such a worldwide conspiracy as this fosters no ordinary breed of criminal. It is engaged in no ordinary type of law breaking. Its members are carefully trained, operate with great skill and with the backing of a far-flung and efficient organization.

Tribute to the Police

"Its work is often hard to detect, partly because the motives which influence the ordinary criminal are lacking. Here the real motive is the weakening of the fabric of non Communist states in time of peace in order that it may be vulnerable to the long-range designs of the Communist movement.

"The success so far achieved, here and in many other countries, in controlling this conspiracy is a fine tribute to the efficiency of the police organizations of the free world.

"The Soviets keep as a closely-guarded secret the number of their own citizens and of foreign indigenous agents who are trained in the USSR, in China, and in the satellites for subversion and espionage. Certainly there are many tens of thousands. As the students graduate, they flow into the

Communist apparatus throughout the world. You undoubtedly have met some of these alumni, and if not, you certainly will.

To Delve More Deeply

"Some high members of the MVD have revolted against the methods they have been taught to practice, and have come over voluntarily—'defected'—to the free world. They have told us much. Some of this has been published to the world. The Petrov case in Australia is a good example of this.

"In other cases, for security reasons, it has seemed to be wiser to hold back on publicity to help us to delve more deeply into the Communist organization and practices.

"We estimate that the Soviet expenditures in training, support and operation of its over-all subversive mechanism may approach 10% of its expenditure on its over-all armament program. On a comparable basis, that is, assuming that we spent a comparable percentage of our defense budget for defense against these activities, we would be allocating to this work some \$3,000,000,000 to \$4,000,000,000 annually. I need hardly tell you that such is not the case!

Police Are Infiltrated

"The infiltration of police and other internal security forces in this work has become more and more evident in many parts of

the world. Our conventional military forces are normally designed to cope with open, external aggression. Where countries are subject to Communist subversive tactics, the internal-security forces must generally be the first line of defense.

"In some instances, take Czechoslovakia in 1948, for example, where the police force is infiltrated or comes under ineffective leadership, the damage may be done before the armed forces have an opportunity to strike a single blow.

"The need for effective police and internal-security forces is particularly felt in those countries which are on or near the borders of the Communist bloc. Here there is a vital need for protection against what has been called 'internal invasion'.

Trained, Loyal Police

"As Communist agents and troublemakers infiltrate into such countries and cause disorders, the governments must have security forces which can spot and arrest the leaders, and break up Communist-inspired riots and demonstrations.

"This does not call for tanks and jet aircraft; it calls for a trained and loyal police.

"The various American programs for military and technical assistance to critical and underdeveloped areas can only bear fruit in a secure environment. It is for this reason that a number of countries where such aid is extended have requested that our programs should include help in building up the technical competence of local security forces to help to keep the peace internally and root out and suppress subversion.

Stockpile of Old Arms

"While I am on the subject of Communist techniques, I might mention a somewhat recent development in their program of sowing international discord—the Kremlin's new Trojan Horse—but one that will look quite attractive to many countries which are under pressure to build up their military establishments.

"As is well known, the Soviet emerged from World War II with a substantial stockpile of obsolescent and now-fairly-obsolete military equipment. This included, in addition to small arms, a good many thousands of medium and heavy tanks. Immediately following the war's end, the Soviet developed a whole new series of types of tanks and aircraft, including, in aircraft, for example, the MIG-15 fighter plane, the TU-4 (B-29 type) long-range piston bomber and more recently the IL-28 light jet bomber.

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4000 to 6000 Reserve MIG-15s. "It is now estimated that the Soviet has many thousands of these types of war equipment, some becoming obsolete, some surplus. All are likely to be replaced over the next few years. New tanks are in mass production, and new long- and medium-range bombers are coming off the assembly line.

"For example, the replacement of obsolescent MIG-15s with newer models has created a reserve of some 4000 to 6000 MIG-15s, of which a very substantial number could be off-loaded as an adjunct to a general program of causing trouble throughout the world.

"Of course a good share of this equipment already has gone to Communist China and to Indo-China, with results which are now clearly seen. There remains ample for other parts of the world, and we now hear of advanced negotiations with several countries of the Middle East. I should not be at all surprised if we soon heard that countries in this hemisphere were being approached.

Must Keep Careful Watch

"A premature start with this program was made over a year ago. You will remember that it was a shipload of obsolete arms sent by Czechoslovakia to Guatemala in the ill-famed freighter Alfhem which accused the Guatemalan people to a realization of the Communist plans for a takeover of that country. Once again Czechoslovakia looms up as the front for the delivery of Communist arms — this time in the Middle East.

"We should keep a careful watch against the possibility that some of these surplus arms, particularly small arms, may find their way into the hands of selected unscrupulous private vendors and be used indiscriminately to foment trouble.

"Furthermore, in certain areas of Southeast Asia there is an unholy alliance between the traffickers in arms and the opium smugglers.

A Wise Distinction

"Congress established the Central Intelligence Agency under the National Security Act of 1947, which unified the Armed Services. There is, I believe, some misunderstanding of the nature and scope of the functions assigned to CIA, and I should like very briefly to clarify this point.

"First of all, Congress made a clear and wise distinction between the function of intelligence and that of the law-enforcing agencies. It specifically provided that the Central Intelligence Agency should have no police, subpoena, law-enforcement powers, or internal security functions."

"Of course, intelligence long has been a function of our Government even though, prior to World War II, on a scale far smaller than was customary in the case of most of the major powers of the world.

Toward a Single End

"The Central Intelligence Agency was not devised by Congress primarily as a means of setting new intelligence activities into motion, although it did contemplate that the collection of intelligence should be stepped up.

"Rather, the new agency was conceived as an appropriate means of co-ordinating the intelligence activities of the Government and to make them function more harmoniously and effectively toward the single end of national security. It did not supplant any existing intelligence agencies, but it was given certain duties in the intelligence field not then being carried out by others.

"The United States Government receives today a vast amount of information from all parts of the world. Some of it comes as a by-product of our normal work in the field of foreign relations. Much of it comes from overt sources—the press, radio and foreign publications. Some of it comes through new scientific techniques—for science today plays an increasing role in the gathering of intelligence, just as it does in law enforcement.

In Distant Capitals

"All of this information has to be studied, analyzed and put into form for use by the policy makers. Intelligence of a counter-intelligence nature, or of direct interest to the law-enforcement agencies of our Government, is passed to these agencies and in particular to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"Over the past years there have been important instances where the traces of espionage agents we were first picked up in distant capitals, although the operation was planned to be carried out in the continental United States. Agents trained for work here have in many cases been first spotted abroad. The follow-up here requires the closest co-ordination between our intelligence work abroad and the FBI.

"In this and in other fields I can assure you that the co-operation with the FBI is smooth and effective. It was a great pleasure for me to be present the other day when our President conferred on Mr. J. Edgar Hoover the National Security Medal, the highest award the President could accord for work in this field of national security.

Allocate the Tasks

"In further developing the co-ordination of our intelligence work there is held once a week under my chairmanship a meeting of the heads of the various intelligence agencies. This includes in addition to CIA, a representative of Army, Navy and Air Force intelligence of the State Department intelligence, of the Joint Chiefs-of-Staff, and representatives of the FBI and the Atomic Energy Commission.

"Here we prepare together co-ordinated estimates embodying all available intelligence on critical foreign situations. We discuss current intelligence problems; we apportion as among the appropriate agencies various tasks for the collection of intelligence.

"In this way and through appropriate standing committees

which have been set up we have done everything possible to ensure that vital items of intelligence available to the Government are promptly placed before the appropriate policy-making officers of the Government, the President, the secretaries of state and defense, and other members of the Cabinet or of the National Security Council, as appropriate.

Two Major Problems

"In developing our intelligence mechanism we have constantly in mind the lessons of the past. Only time can tell whether we will have the wisdom to draw the right conclusions from the intelligence we may have.

"Here there are two major problems. Sometimes it is not too difficult to estimate, within certain margins of error, the strength of a potential enemy. If the intelligence community only does that, however, it has not really fulfilled its task.

"It has a duty also to estimate, on the basis of available intelligence, the probable or the possible intentions of any foe, or at least to indicate the alternative courses of action he may take. If one looks back to intelligence failures of the past, Pearl Harbor for example, we find that the error has generally come, not in a miscalculation of enemy strength but in a miscalculation of enemy intentions.

A Revealing Speech

"Of course the policy maker often has to take a calculated risk where hostile intentions are not clear, and this applies both in the military and the political fields.

"A few days ago at a banquet for the East German Communists, Nikita Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet Communist Party, made some interesting statements. It was one of his informal and likewise revealing speeches. He remarked, as reported by the radio and press services, that if anyone believes that our smiles

involve abandonment of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin (the name of Stalin was added according to the official East German broadcasts but does not appear in the Moscow reports), he deceives himself poorly. Those who wait for that, he said, must wait until a shrimp learns to whistle.

"There is some debate among the experts whether the word should be shrimp or crayfish, for there is an old Russian proverb that says 'I will do it when the

shrimp whistles on the mountain top.'

Can't Relax Vigilance

"This, I understand, is a Russian way of saying 'Never'—although I learn on good authority that in the deep reaches of the sea, as detected by modern science, the crayfish or the shrimp do make some gurgling noises.

"There is no hard evidence as yet, which we as intelligence or law-enforcing officers can accept, that the dangers we face from the secret underground subversive activities of communism have

ceased. Let us hope it does. Let us hope that Khrushchev hears the shrill call of the shrimp.

"Meanwhile, in all free countries we cannot relax our vigilance in meeting the dual problem of protecting our national security from the lawless elements within and the lawless elements directed and controlled from without. In these tasks we shall need sound intelligence as to the external and internal dangers to ensure effective enforcement of law within a framework which safeguards the rights of the individual."